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A World Crisis Finds Washington Paralyzed

The President's press conference, the first since his reelection, was jammed. He looked a little more tired than when last seen during the campaign. He had the solemnity of a man who feels the burden of a world crisis, and he was obviously very worried. No one could listen carefully to his words without sympathy; his modesty is impressive, his desire for peace unmistakable, but the quality of leadership is missing. The reporters, trooping out afterward, came away with the same impression gathered by the eleven members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at their secret briefing Monday, and the 23 Congressional leaders summoned to the White House the preceding Friday. This is that the U.S. is drifting, without a policy, unable to make up its mind what to do either in Egypt or Hungary, the focal points of the crisis.

The most striking evidence of this irresolution came when Merriman Smith of the United Press asked Mr. Eisenhower what form American opposition to aggression would take if new armed forces were introduced into the Middle East. "Well," the President replied, "I can't tell what it would be." The United Nations was not limited to resolutions; in one instance, at least, had shown that it was not so limited. "So I don't know exactly what we would do. It would depend upon the circumstances." Mr. Eisenhower's reference to that "one instance" was a reference, of course, to Korea, and for a moment the shadow of Mr. Truman fell across the President's desk. This is not how the little man from Missouri would have reacted to the threat of "volunteers" from Moscow and Peking. It will be tragic if the Russians are led by this hesitation to believe that they can safely intervene by subterfuge.

Egypt Is No Korea

The geography of the situation is its danger. Egypt is neither a Hungary nor a Korea into which troops can easily be marched over a contiguous frontier. Russian warships would have to move through Turkish waters, Russian planes through Turkish skies. Turkey would be outflanked and shut off from its Western allies were Russian power to establish itself in Egypt and Syria. Turkey would be the first to be drawn in. Then how are Soviet volunteers to reach Egypt without running into the Anglo-French blockade in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Anglo-French forces already in the Canal Zone?

The chain reaction potential of Russian intervention in Egypt is so serious that Nasser himself is reluctant to set it off. If Egypt and Israel have one interest in common it is the avoidance of a war between the two great Powers for predominance in the Middle East; there will be little left of either Israel or the Arab States if such a conflict reaches the stage even of small "tactical" atomic weapons. This mutual interest in the avoidance of a common disaster might be the leverage of a swift, forceful and constructive diplomacy for peace. But of this there is no sign. The roles have been reversed. It is now Moscow which threatens something like massive retaliation against England and France, while risking the kind of interventionist adventures once feared from Mr. Dulles. That dove flutters weakly over Washington.

Deterred By Our Own Deterrents?

At this historic juncture, Washington seems to be paralyzed. This paralysis may be linked to the fact that American military strategy is now committed to the use of weapons so terrible that, as the President said, they "make the thought of global war include almost a sentence for suicide." Reliance on such "deterrents" has ended by deterring ourselves. The diplomatic immobility derives from the military immobility.

But a diplomacy which can no longer depend on threats of military action is not necessarily powerless. The very threat of Russian intervention may be utilized to win Asian neutralists and to persuade Arabs and Israeli how much both stand to gain by a peaceful settlement; a regional water development program is given new attractiveness by the imminent prospect of becoming a Big Power battleground. In Europe, there are also possibilities for a vigorous diplomatic offensive. One fact stands out in bold relief there, etched in blood and fire over Budapest. The key to freedom in Eastern Europe is the withdrawal of the Russian armies. Like the French after 1789, these came to liberate and stayed on to oppress.

The Way to Liberate Hungary

Junior voices within the Administration have been urging vainly that the U.S. seize the initiative by offering to withdraw our troops from Western Europe if the Russians withdraw from Eastern; to dissolve NATO, if they abandon the Warsaw pact; to make a united Germany the cornerstone of a neutral zone; and to free Poland from vassalage to Russia by guaranteeing the present frontiers. Such a challenge, on the heels of the demand by the four Asian Premiers for Soviet withdrawal from Hungary, would give the U.S. a way to liberate without threat of war.

In default of such bold or any other policies the U.S. has fallen back on the United Nations. But the sudden attachment to the UN is not evidence of principle but of bankruptcy on Washington's part. "Everything we brought up," one Democratic Senator complained after last Monday's secret briefing by Acting Secretary of State Hoover, Allen Dulles and Admiral Radford, "was termed a matter for the United Nation. We couldn't get anything specific." The crisis has uncovered a vacuum in Washington.

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You Don't Help Strikers By Encouraging Them To Throw Bricks Through Windows

What Is The Real Role of Radio Free Europe and CIA in Eastern Europe?

We hope there will be pressure, when Congress meets, for an investigation of the role played by Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and the Central Intelligence Agency in the Central and East European uprisings. The West European press is critical of the two propaganda agencies and the West German government has already begun an official inquiry into charges by the right wing German Free Democratic Party that Radio Free Europe must bear "a goodly share of the guilt for the blood bath in Hungary" because of its "aggressive propaganda and irresponsible promises." Tapes of the broadcasts are being studied. The outcome could be serious for Radio Free Europe since its operates from West German territory.

Complaints have come from sober observers irrespective of their political orientation. "American propaganda," Larry Rue reported to the *Chicago Tribune* (Nov. 13) from Vienna, "is being blamed here as designed to encourage anti-communist revolt behind the iron curtain, where such a revolt is doomed beforehand to fail." Michel Gordey, one of the ablest of French journalists, fresh from Budapest, cabled his paper, *France-Soir*, the same day, "We heard a lot of false news about what was going on inside Budapest. We also heard on Radio Free Europe, broadcasting from Munich toward the satellite countries, programs whose impassioned tone and desperate calls to revolt certainly did a lot of wrong."

False Hopes Created

Chet Huntley on NBC's "Outlook," a half hour TV program on Hungary (Sun. Nov. 11) asked "Should our radio have dangled freedom where we ourselves were not prepared to follow?" Several days earlier, from Vienna, Walter T. Ridder of the well known publishing family, reported to the Ridder owned *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (Nov. 8), "It is difficult to describe the bitterness which the failure of the U.S. to live up to its promises, real and implied, has engendered in this part of the world." Ridder blamed Radio Free Europe more than the Voice of America. "The point" he wrote was "not that the U.S. failed to aid Hungary" but that these propaganda agencies painted a "rosy picture . . . of U.S. aid to freedom fighters which evaporated under the stress of reality."

Entirely too little is known about the operations of these agencies, though their blunders may create situations from which the U.S. cannot retreat. What are the political directives under which they operate? Who sees to it that the directives are obeyed? These agencies derive from the worst days of the cold war, and the concepts of containment and "liberation." The premises of the period in which they originated was that communism was entirely evil and that peaceful co-existence with it in any form was impossible. But the real premises of national policy for many months have been acceptance of co-existence, a belief that successful violent revolution against the U.S.S.R. was impossible, and the idea that "liberation" could best be furthered by a "thaw" in which the satellite states would slowly become more independent though still communist and then more democratic.

These are the ideas which Tito sold Dulles. They are also the natural corollaries of a dangerous atomic stalemate between the two great Powers. But one suspects that right or wrong they little accord with the desperate and irreconcilable temperament of the kind of men likely to be recruited by CIA, or of the exiles who staff Radio Free Europe. The politically naive or reactionary big oil companies which largely finance Radio Free Europe can hardly be satisfied with "national communism." Neither can the exiles, some of whom represent obsolete, rightist and adventuristic points of view.

Provocation Is An Old Game

Perhaps the most serious aspect of this whole situation is that through irresponsible use of American funds and facilities these people may create the situations which serve their purposes. Provocation is an old game; the secret police under the Czars (and Stalin) were in a position through infiltration of terrorist groups to bring about the kind of assassinations and hopeless revolts which only stiffened repression whenever there was the danger (from the police point of view) of liberalization. Trotzky suspected and Khrushchev seems to confirm that this was the real story behind the Kirov assassination in 1934.

Similar patterns may appear in more recent events. A thaw would end the hopes of the desperate. To provoke the easily provoked Russians back into repression would serve the purposes of those who see a new war as the only way out. The East German rising of 1953 created a reaction in Russia against the mild policies of Malenkov. The Hungarian affair may be the end of Khrushchev and restore the "Stalinists" to power in the Kremlin. This is what Tito fears.

Always Easy to Blame Conspirators

This is not meant to imply that the East European uprisings came about because of American-supported conspiracy. This is the type of viewpoint which appears wherever unintelligent rulers are too lazy-minded to examine the real facts, or too incompetent to change them. Just as some business men in a strike at once blame "Communists" or "malcontents" because that is easier and cheaper than raising wages and correcting bad working conditions, so Moscow falls back on American conspiracies.

There are always people ready to exploit grievances for good or bad reasons. But the important point always lies in the grievances. Men do not go out on prolonged strikes or engage in hopeless uprising unless they have been driven desperate by bad conditions and ill treatment.

But one does not help desperate strikers by encouraging them to throw bricks through windows and give the police an excuse to smash the strike. To what extent have our propaganda and undercover agencies served to set back the struggle for freedom in Eastern Europe by provoking reckless actions? This is the question we must ask ourselves.

I. F. Stone will speak on "Why The Uprisings in Eastern Europe" for the Community Church at Conservatory Hall, 31 Hemenway St., Boston, Sun., Dec. 2, at 10:30 a.m.

Another Sample of the Madison Avenue Mentality at Work in A Dangerous Area

The kind of folly our radio psychological warriors may commit abroad is illustrated by the kind they commit at home. An example was "The Day North America Is Attacked" which the U.S. Air Force put on over Channel 2 with CBS on Sunday, Nov. 11, directly after an hour long summary on the same channel about events in Hungary and the crisis in the Middle East.

The show was constantly interrupted by flashing across the screen the notice, "An attack is not taking place." The purpose was to advertise the Air Force. Two high officers took part: Gen. Twining, the Air Force Chief of Staff and Gen. Partridge, of the Continental Air Defense Command.

"In using what would be civilization's most fateful hour—the opening of atomic warfare—as a theatrical backdrop for a commercially sponsored television show," Jack Gould said next day in his New York Times radio-TV column, "the Air Force displayed lamentable judgment." This is another sample of the Madison Avenue mentality at work.

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Peking's Rebuke to "Big Nation Chauvinism": A Story The U.S. Press Ignored

How Red China Backed Rebellious Poland (and For Three Hours) Hungary

On several occasions Warsaw has reported sympathetic support from Peking in the struggle for greater independence from Moscow. But the first public evidence of this went unnoticed in the U.S. press. On November 1 Peking radio broadcast an official statement by the Communist Chinese government. Under cover of the Soviet declaration of Oct. 30, Peking attacked "big nation chauvinism" and supported Poland and Hungary. We print the text here, including the "correction" broadcast three hours later deleting the reference to Hungary. That was the day Nagy threatened to withdraw from the Warsaw pact and Soviet intervention was resumed.

"Peking, Nov. 1—The Government of the People's Republic of China today issued the following statement on the declaration issued by the Government of the Soviet Union on Oct. 30:

"The Government of the Soviet Union on Oct. 30, 1956, issued a declaration on the foundations of the development and further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. The Government of the People's Republic of China considers this declaration of the Government of the Soviet Union to be correct. This declaration is of great importance in correcting errors in mutual relations between the Socialist countries and in strengthening unity among them.

"The People's Republic of China maintains that the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence should be the principles governing the establishment and development of mutual relations among the nations of the world.

Independence Necessary to Fraternity

"The Socialist countries are all independent, sovereign States. At the same time they are united by the common ideal of Socialism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Consequently, mutual relations between Socialist countries all the more so should be established on the basis of these five principles. Only in this way are the Socialist countries able to achieve genuine fraternal friendship and solidarity and, through mutual assistance and cooperation, their desire for a mutual economic upsurge.

"As the declaration of the Soviet government pointed out, the mutual relations between the Socialist countries are not without mistakes. These mistakes resulted in misunderstandings and estrangement between certain Socialist countries. Some of these countries have been unable to build Socialism better in accordance with their historical circumstances and special features because of these mistakes.

"As a result of these misunderstandings and estrangement, a tense situation has sometimes ocurred which otherwise would not have occurred. The handling of the 1948-49 Yugoslav situation and the recent happenings in Poland and Hungary are enough to illustrate this.

[*Three hours later, at 1822 Greenwich mean time Peking radio broadcast a "correction" deleting "and Hungary" from that last sentence—IFS.*]

"Following the Soviet-Yugoslav joint declaration issued in June, 1955, the Soviet government has again taken note of this problem and in its declaration of October 30, 1956, indicated its willingness to solve various problems in mutual relations on the basis of the principles of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty, and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs and by friendly negotiations with other Socialist countries. This important step is clearly of value in eliminating estrangement and misunderstandings among the Socialist countries. It will help increase their friendship and cooperation.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China notes that the people of Poland and Hungary in the recent happenings have raised demands that democracy, independence, and equality be strengthened and the material well-being of the people be raised on the basis of developing production. These demands are completely proper. Correct satisfaction of these demands is not only helpful to consolidation of the people's democratic system in these countries but also favorable to the unity among the Socialist countries.

Reactionary Elements Called "Extremely Small"

"We note with satisfaction that the people of Poland and their leaders have taken notice of the activities and danger of reactionary elements who attempt to undermine the people's democratic system and unity among Socialist countries. We consider it absolutely necessary to take note of this and to differentiate between the just demands of the broadest masses of the people in the struggle and the conspiratorial activities of an extremely small number of reactionary elements. The question of uniting the broadest mass of the people in the struggle against an extremely small number of reactionary elements is not only a question for an individual Socialist country, but one deserving attention by many Socialist countries, including our country.

"Because of the unanimity of ideology and aim of struggle, it often happens that certain personnel of Socialist countries neglect the principles of equality among nations in their mutual relations. Such a mistake, by nature, is the error of bourgeois chuavinism. Such a mistake, particularly the mistake of chauvinism by a big country, inevitably results in serious damage to the solidarity and common cause of the Socialist countries. For this reason, leading members and personnel of our government and the people of the entire country must at all times be vigilant to prevent the error of big nation chauvinism in relation with Socialist countries and others.

"We should at all times carry out education resolutely to oppose big nation chauvinism among our personnel and the people of the entire country. If such an error is committed it should be corrected promptly. This is the duty to which we should pay the utmost attention in order to strive for peaceful coexistence with all nations and to promote the cause of world peace."

But Three Days Later Peking Relapsed Into Stalinist Gibberish on Hungary

From a People's Daily editorial broadcast by Peking Nov. 4: "The good news has been received of the founding of a new worker-peasant revolutionary government in Hungary under the leadership of Janos Kadar. . . . With the assistance of Soviet forces . . . this has overthrown the reactionary Nagy regime. . . . The Chinese people . . . congratulate the Hungarian people. . . . The position adopted by the Soviet Union in the Hungarian affair was entirely a just position of proletarian internationalism. The Soviet Union . . . does not interfere in Hungary's internal affairs. . . . There are some people who . . . underestimate the necessity for complete solidarity of the Socialist countries and the need for the Warsaw treaty. . . . The rapidity with which the Hungarian people were able to triumph . . . demonstrated that the counter-revolutionary adventurers represented only the dregs of the Hungarian nation. . . . Democracy for the people and dictatorship over the enemy are two sides of one question. . . . To consolidate this victory requires . . . on the basis of a broad people's democracy . . . establishment of a genuinely powerful revolutionary dictatorship."

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Moscow Is Paying A Heavy Price for Its "Victory" in Budapest

The Hungarian Rebels Have Destroyed The Last Illusions of An Era

It is not easy to see the really momentous events of one's time while they are happening. Budapest is the biggest. Abandoned by the West, shunned fearfully by their Eastern neighbors (even the Polish press is afraid to let go and show its sympathy), fighting the world's biggest army with home-made weapons, the Hungarians seem doomed and in one sense perhaps are. But in another sense, they—alone—have brought the new Russian empire low in a literal sense, low in the minds of men everywhere.

The world will never be the same again when this prolonged battle and general strike is over. An era is dying, the era in which many of us intellectuals grew up, the era of the Russian Revolution, the era in which—for all its faults and evils—defense of that revolution was somehow the moral duty of all progressive minded men. That is over, and with it the companion notion—especially powerful in the East—that Russia was not an imperialist power.

What emerges from the ruins in Budapest is the old Ivan, the bewildered peasant soldier of a bureaucratic despotism, heavy handed, cruel in a slovenly way, and not too sure of itself, weakly reforming and brutally repressing in fits and starts.

The Archaic Red Dean

The full flavor of the change can be sampled in the statement made by the Dean of Canterbury. "The danger of a relapse into fascism," said the Dean, "was something that no eastern workers' state could tolerate." This is an archaic survival from a world which has vanished in the Budapest fighting.

The reality appears in the dispatches of the past few months from Poland and Hungary. There is the item from Warsaw (London *Times*, Oct. 19) that the Warsaw branch of the Communist run youth movement had put forward among its demands, "the closing of exclusive shops for officials." What kind of a workers' state is it in which the better things of life are reserved for officials?

There is the item in the demands put to Nagy by the workers of the Borsod district (London *Times*, Oct. 27) demanding not only better wages and working conditions, and a Parliament no longer to be a rubber stamp but also (curiously) "the publication of the Hungarian-Soviet trade agreement."

Everywhere in Eastern Europe the Russians are accused of using their power to buy cheap and sell dear to their satellites; the Poles claim they have been forced to sell their coal to Russia at half the price it could bring in Scandinavia or England. This is what capitalist countries do (when they can get away with it) in their colonies.

One of the grievances in Hungary (on which there is an illuminating item in Claude Bourdet's *France-Observateur* for Nov. 1) is Russian control of Hungary's uranium mines. Hungary is poor in power for its industries, looks to civilian atomic use, and believes Rakosi "sold out" exclusive control of its uranium to Russia.

Deportations Again

Then there is that item from Radio Budapest as we go to press which admits, "according to the latest reports prisoners have been transported to the east in locked railway cars and for that reason the railwaymen started to strike again." What a world of terror in one banal sentence! For the Nineteenth century, to be "transported" meant in Russia transported to Siberia. Post Stalin amnesty and revelation have since confirmed what dismal hells the secret police operated in Siberia for political prisoners in the mines and timber stations of the icy North; the ride there in locked cars like cattle was the prologue of the ordeal.

It is easy to understand why the sight of those locked cars going east drove the Hungarian railwaymen to strike again and saboteurs to blow up stretches of track. . . . If there is a danger of a relapse into reaction in Eastern Europe, the Russians and the Stalinist Communists have created that danger. They will never live this down. Budapest is worse than the Khrushchev speech because the speech, for all its revealed horrors, bore the implied promise of real change for the better. Budapest months later demonstrates how unwilling the Stalinist bureaucracy is to make real changes at home and abroad. What happened in Budapest will some day happen in Moscow.

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